

Message Text

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21/43

ACTION NEA-09

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

CINCPAC

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY KUALALUMPUR

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 5992

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAGRAPHS MISNUMBERED ON ORIGINAL)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IN, ID

SUBJECT: THE INDIANS AND INDONESIANS FEEL EACH OTHER OUT
AT BINATIONAL SEMINAR

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SUMMARY: A SEMINAR ON ASIAN AND INDO-INDONESIAN RELATIONS

JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE INDIAN INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE STUDIES AND ANALYSES AND THE INDONESIAN CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES WAS HELD IN DELHI APRIL 23-25. THE SEMINAR WAS ATTENDED BY 15-20 INDIAN AND 18 INDONESIAN "STRATEGIC THINKERS" INCLUDING K. SUBRAMANIAM (DIRECTOR OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE), V.P. DUTT (MP), DILIP JUKERJEE, ALI MURTOPO, GEN. HOEMARDANI, (DIRECTOR OF THE INDONESIAN CENTRE), MAJ. GEN. O. ABDUL RACHMAN, AND OBSERVERS FROM THE INDONESIAN EMBASSY AND INDIAN FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MINISTRIES.

WE HAVE READ THE PAPERS PREPARED FOR THE SEMINAR BY BOTH SIDES, TALKED WITH SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING GEN. ABDUL RACHMAN, MUKERJEE, SUBRAMANIAM AND HIS STAFF, AND MEA JOINT SECRETARY (SOUTHEAST ASIA) GONSALVES AND COME AWAY WITH THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT WHILE THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME INCREASED UNDERSTANDING AND COMMUNICATION GENERALIZED BY THE SEMINAR, THERE WERE MAJOR DIFFERENCES AS WELL. THESE CENTERED AROUND (A) THE ASSESSMENT OF THE THREAT FROM COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN INDO-CHINA, (B) US PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA, (C) THE FUTURE OF ASEAN, AND (D) THE DEGREE OF COOPERATION POSSIBLE BETWEEN INDIAN AND INDONESIA AND THE OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES.

END SUMMARY.

1. AT THE SEMINAR, INDONESIANS AND INDIAN BOTH AGREED THAT THE CHINESE POSED A LONG-TERM POTENTIAL THREAT FOR ASIA. THE INDONESIANS WERE EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SOVIETS, CRITICAL OF INDO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIPS, AND COMMENTED OPENLY THAT THE INDIANS WERE NAIVE ABOUT SOVIET OBJECTIVES. THE INDONESIANS EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN ABOUT FUTURE COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF INSURGENCY IN SEA, PARTICULARLY AGAINST THAILAND AND MALAYSIA. THEY AGREED WITH THE INDIANS THAT WHILE OUTRIGHT EXTERNAL AGGRESSION WAS UNLIKELY, NORTH VIETNAM'S FUTURE INTENTIONS REMAINED TO BE SEEN AND THERE WAS ALWAYS THE PROSPECT THAT THE VIETNAMESE MIGHT "INSPIRE" SIMILAR MOVEMENTS ELSEWHERE. THEY THOUGHT THAT THROUGH "NATIONAL RESILIENCE" (ONE INDIAN PARTICIPANT MOANED THAT SHE HAD COUNTED THE INDONESIAN USE OF THIS PHRASE 110 TIMES) AND

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POTENTIAL COLLECTIVE SECURITY COOPERATION AMONG THE ASEAN STATES, THE PROBLEM OF INSURGENCY COULD BE DEALT WITH. THE INDIAN ARGUED THAT VIETNAM WOULD PROBABLY CONCENTRATE AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS ON DOMESTIC STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION AND SAW LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THEY WOULD ENCOURAGE INSURGENCY OUTSIDE THE VIETNAMESE "SPHERE OF INFLUENCE" (INCLUDING LAOS AND CAMBODIA). INDONESIANS AND INDIANS BOTH AGREED VIETNAM WOULD NOT

NECESSARILY FALL UNDER CHINESE INFLUENCE BUT INDONESIANS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT POTENTIAL SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY IN THE AREA. THE INDIANS SAW SOME SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM AS POTENTIALLY STABILIZING; ALTHOUGH THEY ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THE RISKS OF SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY IN THE AREA.

2. WHILE EXPRESSING THEIR OWN OPPOSITION TO PARTICIPATION IN ANY ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS WITH "GREAT POWERS" AND CONDEMNING AS HOPELESS ANY PROSPECT OF DEALING WITH INSURGENCIES THROUGH THE USE OF FOREIGN FORCES, THE INDONESIANS REFUSED TO BE DRAWN AT ANY POINT, EITHER PRIVATELY OR DURING THE SEMINAR DISCUSSIONS, INTO CRITICISM OF US TREATY RELATIONSHIPS IN ASIA. THEY REMAINED SILENT ON ALL QUESTIONS ABOUT US BASES ON AUSTRALIA, ON ANZUS, SEATO, OR US BILATERAL TREATY RELATIONSHIPS. THE INDIANS TELL US THE CLOSEST THEY CAME TO COMMENTING ON THIS THEME, ON WHICH THE INDIANS WORKED HARD AT ELICITING SOME CRITICAL REMARKS, WAS TO SAY THAT THE SECURITY OF JAPAN AND AUSTRALIA WAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO INDONESIA

3. THE INDIANS PURSUED THEIR ARGUMENTS ON AN INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE ZEALOUSLY BUT THE INDONESIAN RESPONSE WAS THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT ONE MIGHT WANT IN AN IDEAL WORLD, IT WAS ONLY SENSIBLE TO RECOGNIZE THE REALITY THAT BOTH THE US AND SOVIETS HAD STRATEGIC INTERESTS WHICH WOULD INVOLVE THEIR PRESERVING NAVAL ACCESS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. THE INDONESIANS COMMENTED ON TENSIONS AROUND THE INDIAN OCEAN LITTORAL, MENTIONING SPECIFICALLY MOZAMBIQUE, ETHIOPIA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE PERSIAN GULF, BUT NOT SOUTH ASIA. INDIAN PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSION WRYLY COMMENTED THEY THOUGHT THE INDONESIANS WERE MERELY BEING POLITE IN OMITTING SOUTH ASIA SINCE, IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS, THE INDONESIANS OBSERVED THAT RECENT

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DEVELOPMENTS IN BANGLADESH, PAKISTAN, NEPAL AND SIKKIM AS WELL AS THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST HAD CREATED SOME CONCERNS IN INDONESIA AS TO INDIA'S POLICY OBJECTIVES. THE INDONESIANS COMMENTED SEVERAL TIMES IN THE SEMINAR THAT THEY THOUGHT THE INDIANS WERE OVERLY EMOTIONAL ON THE SUBJECT OF PAKISTAN, NOTING ON ONE OCCASION THAT THE INDIANS APPEARED TO BE PURSUING A VENDETTA AGAINST PAKISTAN. THE INDIANS RETALIATED BY SAYING THAT THE INDONESIANS APPEARED TO BE OBSESSIVE ON THE SUBJECT OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AND BY SOME DEPRECATING REMARKS ON ASEAN. THE INDIANS TOLD US THAT AT NO POINT DID THE INDONESIANS EXPRESS ANY CONCERN ABOUT NAVAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE INDIAN OCEAN OR ABOUT BASES IN THE AREA. THE INDIAN CONCLUSION WAS THAT WHILE INDONESIA WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE APPROPRIATE NOISES IN INTERNATIONAL FORA ABOUT THE "ZONE OF PEACE," THEY WERE

REALLY NOT VERY INTERESTED.

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

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6. THE INDIANS EXPRESSED SOME CYNICISM ABOUT THE EFFECTIVE-
NESS AND FUTURE OF ASEAN, NOTING THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE
AS MANY DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MEMBERS AS BETWEEN THE
MEMBERS AND OUTSIDE STATES, AND THAT THE ORGANIZATION HAD
ACCOMPLISHED LITTLE. THE INDONESIANS ACKNOWLEDGED DIFFERENT
POINTS OF VIEW ON MANY ISSUES BUT STAUNCHLY DEFENDED THE

VITALITY OF THE ORGANIZATION AND INSISTED THAT IT WAS
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BECOMING INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVE AND REPRESENTED A REAL
ALTERNATIVE TO THE COMMUNIST "BLOC" IN SEA. (WE WILL
DISCUSS IN SEPTTEL OUR ASSESSMENT OF INDIAN VIEWS OF THE
GENERAL SITUATION IN SEA.)

7. BOTH SIDES SPENT A GOOD DEAL OF TIME IN AND OUT OF THE
SEMINAR PROBING FOR PROSPECTIVE AREAS OF FUTURE BILATERAL
COOPERATION. THERE WERE REPORTEDLY SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES
WITHIN THE INDONESIAN DELEGATION ON THIS TOPIC, WITH GEN.
HAMOERDANI AMONG THE MORE SANGUINE. AT PRESENT TRADE
IS MINISCULE AND PROSPECTS FOR INVESTMENT AND TRADE
EXPANSION DO NOT SEEM LARGE. AT THE SAME TIME, SOME
INDONESIANS WERE APPARENTLY DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY INDIAN
TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, PARTICULARLY IN
THE BANGALORE AREA WHICH THEY VISITED. THE INDIANS SUG-
GESTED THAT BY TAKING ADVANTAGE OF INDIAN INTERMEDIATE
TECHNOLOGY AND EXPERIENCE, THE INDONESIANS MIGHT SHORTEN
THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESSES IN CHEMICAL, ENGINEERING,
AND ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY FROM THE INDIAN 20-25 YEARS TO 13-
18. THE INDIANS TELL US SALES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT
DID NOT COME UP IN THE DISCUSSIONS, BUT MAJ. GENERAL
ABDUL RACHMAN TOLD AN EMBOFF THERE HAD INDEED BEEN SOME
QUIET EXCHANGES ON THIS SUBJECT. NEITHER SIDE ACKNOWLEDGED
ANY INTEREST IN MILITARY COOPERATION OR COORDINATION, OTHER
THAN THE OCCASIONAL JOINT MANEUVER OR VISIT BY SENIOR
MILITARY OFFICERS. THE INDONESIANS ASKED ABOUT INDIAN
INTENTIONS IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD AND HOW MUCH TECHNOLOGY
INDIA WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXPORT TO INDONESIA--WHILE
DENYING ANY INTEREST IN EXPLOSIVE TECHNOLOGY. THE INDIANS
REPLIED THEY WOULD PROVIDE THE SAME KIND OF TECHNOLOGY
AND TRAINING TO INDONESIA AS TO OTHER COUNTRIES, BUT
WOULD NOT IN ANY EVENT ASSIST IN EXPLOSION TECHNOLOGY.
(THIS WE HAVE BOTH FROM INDIAN AND INDONESIAN SOURCES.)

8. BOTH SIDES AGREED THERE WAS NO PROSPECT OF INDIA JOIN-
ING ASEAN. THE INDIANS SAID THEY WEREN'T INTERESTED; THE
INDONESIANS SAID "FINE" BECAUSE INDIA ISN'T IN SEA AND WOULD
NOT IN ANY EVENT BE ELIGIBLE (OR, SAID ONE INDONESIAN TO AN
EMBOFF, WELCOME). THE INDONESIANS DID COMMENT SEVERAL TIMES,
HOWEVER, THAT THEY WISHED THE BURMESE WOULD JOIN AND COMMENTED
THAT ASEAN WOULD BE LOOKING AT THE POSSIBILITY OF ATTRACTING
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THE INDO-CHINESE STATES UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUM-
STANCES AND AT THE RIGHT TIME. THE INDIANS AT THIS POINT DO
NOT EVEN APPEAR INTERESTED IN WORKING WITH ASEAN AS AN IN-
STITUTION, BUT RATHER WITH INDIVIDUAL SEA STATES AND WITH OTHER
EXISTING INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (ADB, ESCAP). THIS APPEARS
TO HAVE CREATED SOME SUSPICION AMONG THE OTHER SEA STATES

THAI, SINGAPORE, MALAYSIAN, AND PHILIPPINE DIPLOMATS IN
NEW DELHI HAVE POINTEDLY TOLD US IN THE LAST WEEK THAT THE
INDIANS HAVE MADE NO EFFORT TO ENGAGE IN SIMILAR DIALOGUE
WITH THEM AND INDEED SOME SUSPECT THAT THE INDIANS MAY BE
ATTEMPTING TO SPLIT ASEAN.

9. THE INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES AT THE SEMINAR UNANIMOUSLY
AGREED THAT THE INDIANS DID MOST OF THE TALKING AND THE
INDONESIANS MOST OF THE LISTENING. WHILE SOME INDONESIANS
COMMENTED PRIVATELY TO US AND OTHER DIPLOMATS THAT THEY
DIDN'T THINK INDIAN AND INDONESIA HAD MUCH TO TALK ABOUT,
OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE INDONESIAN CONSENSUS PROBABLY
WAS THAT, REGARDLESS OF HOW THE INDIANS MIGHT FEEL
ABOUT INDIANS PERSONALLY (AND THERE DOESN'T SEEM TO BE
MUCH AFFECTION), INDIAN WAS A BIG AND AN IMPORTANT COUNTRY
IN THE INDIAN OCEAN LITTORAL REGION AND IT WAS IMPORTANT
FOR INDONESIA TO KEEP ON REASONABLY GOOD TERMS WITH IT AND
TO DEVELOP WHATEVER ECONOMIC/POLITICAL RELATIONS WERE
FEASIBLE. THE INDONESIANS ASKED WHAT HELP THE INDIANS
WOULD PROVIDE THEM ECONOMICALLY. THE INDIANS MADE IT PLAIN
THEY HAD NO MONEY TO OFFER, AND THE INDONESIANS MADE IT
EQUALLY CLEAR THEY HAD NO OIL AVAILABLE. TECHNOLOGY,
HOWEVER, MAY INDEED OFFER SOME PROSPECTS AND IN ANY EVENT
THE INDIANS SEEM ANXIOUS TO USE WHATEVER LEVERAGE THEY MAY
HAVE TO ENLARGE THEIR PRESENCE IN SEA.

10. THE INDIANS TELL US THAT ECONOMIC ISSUES, INCLUDING
THE MAJOR TOPICS ON THE AGENDA OF INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS
THIS YEAR, WERE NOT ON THE AGENDA OF THE SEMINAR. THEY
ACKNOWLEDGE THIS WAS PROBABLY A MISTAKE BUT HOPE THE NEXT
MEETING WILL DEAL WITH THESE SUBJECTS. THE NEXT MOVE IS
UP TO THE INDONESIANS, THE INDIANS SAY. THEY HOPE THERE
WILL BE A RETURN INVITATION FROM THE INDONESIAN CENTRE IN
THE NEXT 6-8 MONTHS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE INDIANS WILL CON-
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TO CONTINUE TO WORK ON INDONESIA AT THE OFFICIAL LEVEL THROUGH SUCH
ACTIVITIES AS THE VISIT OF THE INDIAN PRESIDENT (NOW POST-
PONED FOR SEVERAL WEEKS FROM THE ORIGINAL EARLY MAY DATE.)
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